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ON MERCHANTS' TOKENS STRUCK IN THE TOWNS OF
CARLOW, BAGNALSTOWN AND TULLOW.

BY ROBERT MALCOMSON, ESQ., M. A.

AT the suggestion of the Rev. James Graves, the zealous and indefatigable Honorary Secretary of the Society, the writer's attention was originally directed to the subject of the Tradesmen's Tokens issued in the town and county of Carlow during the latter half of the seventeenth century; and now, with the kind and valued aid of Dr. Aquilla Smith—who is pre-eminently *the* authority on these matters—and of other correspondents and friends, I believe I am enabled to lay before the Society all that is known of this species of local coinage. In the obliging communication with which I was favoured, the Honorary Secretary too flatteringly desired that I should attempt for Carlow what Mr. Prim had done for Kilkenny, the Rev. Samuel Hayman for Youghal, and Mr. John Davis White for Cashel, in the matter of these tokens, and I was referred to any Corporation books which might exist as fertile sources of information as to the strikers of these coins. I regret, however, to say that the records of the ancient borough town of Carlow have disappeared with the Corporation itself, and my inquiries upon this head have failed to discover any written muniments of that body prior to the year 1733, with the exception of copies of one or two of the Royal Charters granted to the town, and to which reference is hereafter made. Owing to the want of these records, the information as to the individuals who issued tokens in Carlow is probably more scanty than it might otherwise have been; and besides, it is to be borne in mind that although in more distant ages the town of "Catherlough" surpassed the cities of Kilkenny and Youghal in importance, as appears from the fact that the King's Exchequer was established here in the reign of Edward III., yet during the period in which this species of private or local coinage was adopted—a period which would appear almost exclusively to be confined to the years between 1652 and 1670—it could not boast

of the commercial wealth or extent of its neighbour, "the faire citie," or the more distant seaport of Youghal, as the numbers and variety of these very tokens issued in the latter places sufficiently indicate. Following, however, in the track of the gentlemen alluded to, I must refer the reader for the general history of the Irish Tradesmen's Tokens to the brief but comprehensive paper on that subject by Dr. Smith, which was communicated to the Kilkenny Archæological Society, and published in its "Transactions" (vol. ii., pp. 155-159), in 1852. The Catalogues, original and supplementary, of these tokens laid before the Royal Irish Academy by the same gentleman in the years 1849 and 1853, respectively, and published in the "Proceedings" of the body, embracing every specimen that research or inquiry could discover, and comprising to the moment of their publication a grand total of 624 specimens, must form, as it were, the storehouse to which every local or special inquirer shall have access for information. These lists give the names of five issuers of tokens in the town of Carlow—one in "Tullowe," and another in "Newtown Bagnell" (now called Bagnalstown), making in all seven for the county of Carlow. As only one of these tokens is dated, it is impossible to arrange them chronologically with any degree of certainty, and we must, therefore, content ourselves with their enumeration as supplied by Dr. Smith in a list specially contributed for the purpose of this paper, giving from the coins themselves the legend on the obverse in the first instance, with the bearing in the field between parentheses, then the legend and the bearing in the field of the reverse, and lastly, in italics, the present locality of the coins.

They are as follow:—

Carlow Town.

1. JOHN MASTERS 1657 (1^p.)
IN CARTHELOVGH (a Bull)

Mr. R. Malcomson.

2. THOMAS MOORE OF (a Stag)
CARLO POSTMASTER (1^p.)

Dr. A. Smith.

3. THO. REYNALDS (a Lion Rampant between
three escallops)

OF CARLOW TANER (a cross ✚ over 1^D.)

Dr. A. Smith.

4. EDWARD RENOLDS (a Lion rampant)
OF CARLO MARCHANT (1^D.)

Mr. R. Malcomsom.

5. GARRETT QVIGLEY (a Harp)
OF CARLO MARCH:D (G. Q. 1^D.)

Dr. A. Smith.

Mr. Frederick Haughton.

Bagnalstown.

6. WALTER KARNEY (an Anchor)
NEWTOWN BAGNALL (W K conjoined)

Royal Irish Academy.

Tullow.

7. RICH BVRCHALL (St. George and the Dragon)
OF TVLLOWE (R^B D).

Mr. Frederick Haughton.

I shall now proceed with my notices of the tokens in the order above given.¹

1. JOHN MASTERS.—Although we have no municipal



record to verify the fact, yet we find from a casual passage in a work hereafter quoted, that John Masters, within

¹ The woodcuts which illustrate this paper are presented by Mr. Malcomsom.—ED.

three years from the date on this token—namely, in 1660, filled the responsible office of portrieve of the borough of Carlow. The town had originally obtained certain corporate rights and privileges in the reign of King John, by a grant from William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, but was more fully incorporated by a Charter of James I., under Letters Patent, dated the 19th of April, in the eleventh year of the reign of that monarch (1614), which ordained “that within the said borough of Carlow there be one body corporate and politique, consisting of one portrieve, twelve free burgesses, and the commonalty;” John Kirton, “gentleman,” was constituted the first and modern portrieve, to continue in office until the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, next after the date of the Charter; and it was provided that the appointment should be annual and elective in the portrieve and free burgesses, who should every year elect one of the more discreet persons of the free burgesses to exercise the office. From a volume published in 1713 (“Dublin, Samuel Fuller, at the Globe, in Meath-street”), entitled, “A Compendious View of some sufferings of the people, called Quakers, both in person and substance in the Kingdom of Ireland, from the year 1655 to the end of the reign of King George the First,” I make the following extract :—

“As one of the manifold examples of their grievous sufferings under Oliver Cromwell and the reign of King Charles II., on account of their conscientious dissent from other religious denominations in sundry particulars, as not meeting to worship with them, not paying tythes, &c., nor Priest’s maintenance, nor towards the repair of Parish Worship-houses, not swearing upon any account, not using hat-honour, nor observing Holy days so called.

“Catherlough County.

“1660. *Thomas Weston, Thomas Chaunders, Henry Rose*, and nine more Friends, for meeting together in the Fear of the Lord, in *Catherlough*, were apprehended by order of *John Masters*, present Portgreve, and without Examination or Mittimus, committed to Prison till the next Sessions, and then indicted, and by the jury found not guilty; yet, on pretence of Fees, were kept Prisoners several months, and an order was obtained from the chief Rulers (the Lords Justices) of the nation for their Enlargement and shewed to the County-Justices, who refused to release Friends. And at the following Assizes, Friends were brought before Judge *Alexander*, who reviled them, calling them *Rogues, Rascals, Villains*, &c. (which is well

known to their neighbours that they are no such persons, being honest and industrious men), and caused a Bill of Indictment to be drawn up against them, and (for meeting together as aforesaid to worship God) were by the said Judge fined 320*l*."

In 1669, this evidently thriving burgess, John Masters, resided "within ye gate," as we find his name returned in that district of the town (now representing Dublin-street), in a schedule to an applotment of vestry cess, made on the 13th October, 1669, and in which he is assessed at the sum of 10*s*., being the highest amount charged upon any individual in the list; Mr. Robert Brown, in Tullow-street, rating next at 9*s*.

After this date, we lose sight of the name, save that in a fee-farm grant, dated the 29th of September, 1712, from Henry Earl of Thomond to Richard Schooly, of certain premises on the west side of Dublin-street, we find mention as a boundary of one "Mistress Masters, her plot;" and if this lady were the widow or descendant of John Masters, the striker of the token, and succeeded her husband or father in his residence, I fancy his habitation "within ye gate," can be identified as having existed on or near the spot now occupied by the house and concerns of Dr. O'Meara.

This token, which is of brass, weighing about 25 grains, is the only one of the Carlow issue which bears a date. I presume it to have been one of the earliest in the series, though it is not now the most rare.

2. THOMAS MOORE.—The legend on the token comprises all that is known of the history of the individual, "Thomas Moore of Carlo Postmaster." The occupation was, no



doubt, very different from that of the postmaster of the present or recent days, as partaking of the character of post-horse proprietor as well as of the official transmitter

of letters. Speaking of the Post-office in England at the period under review, Lord Macaulay tells us:—

“A rude and imperfect establishment of posts for the conveyance of letters had been set up by Charles I., and had been swept away by the Civil War. Under the Commonwealth, the design was renewed. At the Restoration, the proceeds of the Post-office, after all expenses had been paid, were settled on the Duke of York. On most lines of road the mails went out and came in on alternate days. In Cornwall, in the fens of Lincolnshire, and among the hills and lakes of Cumberland, letters were received only once a week. During a Royal progress, a daily post was dispatched from the capital to the place where the Court sojourned. There was also daily communication between London and the Downs; and the same privilege was extended to Tunbridge Wells and Bath at the seasons when those places were crowded by the great. The bags were carried on horse-back day and night, at the rate of about five miles an hour. The revenue of this establishment was not derived solely from the charge for the transmission of letters. The Post-office alone was entitled to furnish post-horses, and from the care with which this monopoly was guarded, we may infer that it was found profitable. If, indeed, a traveller had waited half an hour without being supplied, he might hire a horse wherever he could.”

The name of Thomas Moore does not appear in the vestry assessment of 1669, on which, however, we find a “John Moore” residing “without ye gate,” and a “Peter Moore,” an inhabitant of Tullow-street.

The device of a stag on this token was probably an armorial bearing. The only specimen of this token which has come to our knowledge is in the cabinet of Dr. A. Smith, by whom the drawing from which our wood-cut is taken was made. The weight is 47 grains.

The following are instances of Irish tokens issued by “Postmasters”:—

MATTHEW BETHELL,	POSTM ^S TR IN ANTRIM, 1671.
RICHARD HARRISON,	BE(LTVRB)AT, POSTMR.
ABRAHAM VAUGHAN, POST	MASTER OF YAVGHALL.

3 & 4. THOMAS REYNALDS and EDWARD RENOLDS. I classify these individuals as belonging to the same family,



as well from the similarity of the name as of the arms on the obverse of both tokens—a lion rampant.

Of Thomas Reynalds I have no information beyond what his token conveys, that he followed the business of tanner, a trade which, until a very recent period, was a lucrative and important one in the town of Carlow.

On the assessment of 1669, already referred to, we find, however, the name of Edward Reynolds in the Tullow-street district. In 1675, King Charles II. granted a new charter to the borough of Catherlough, in which His Majesty appointed Robert Browne, Esq., to be sovereign, and in which he named "Edward Reynolds, gentleman," in company with Sir John Povey, Knight, Chief Justice of the Court of Chief Place in the Kingdom of Ireland, Sir William Temple, Bart., John Nicholas, Esq., Robert Browne, Esq., John Warren, Esq., Robert Curtis, Michael Heade, gent., Samuel Blackshaw, gent., Sir Thomas Butler, Bart., Sir John Davellier, Knight, Henry Berkeley, Esq., and John Tench, gent., to be the first and modern twelve free burgesses of the said borough, Mr. Reynolds ranking fifth on the list.

At the period of the granting of this new charter, Mr. Reynolds filled the office of deputy-portrieve under the existing charter of James I. ; and he was also at the same time one of the churchwardens of the parish of Carlow, his colleague in that office being Mr. Robert Browne, both of whom appear about this time, and for some years subsequently to have been active members of the vestry, and to have taken a prominent interest in parochial, as we presume they also did, in municipal matters. Mr. Reynolds succeeded Mr. Browne as sovereign of the borough. His last recorded attendance at vestry was on the 26th of April, 1686 ; and as we miss his name from "An Account of those that hath seats in Church of Carlo, and paid their money for, to Samuel Keeler and Henry Carter, Churchwardens for the Parish in the year 1694," but find therein the name of "Mrs. Mary Reynolds" (probably his widow), we presume him to have died in the interval between the years 1686 and 1694. These latter circumstances we gather from a transcript or "Copy of the Vestry Book of the united Parishes of Carlow and Killeslin from 5 April, 1675, to 31 January, 1715," in the Jackson collection now deposited in the Mechanics' Institute, Carlow.

Both these tokens are of brass ; that of Thomas Reynolds weighs 31 grains, and specimens of it are in the cabinet of Dr. A. Smith, and in the hands of the writer. Edward Renolds' token weighs 42 grains, according to a specimen also with the writer.

5. GARRETT QUIGLEY. This, the last in the series of the tokens of our county town, is also the most common. No less than three specimens are found in the cabinet of



Mr. Frederick Haughton, who informs the writer that "curiously enough they are all three from a different die, although after the same pattern ; the number of strings in the harp vary in each."

When James II. came to the throne, he followed the example of his royal predecessors, James I. and Charles II., in granting charters to various towns in Ireland. Carlow did not escape his favour in this respect. Having first disposed of the old charters and the franchises, liberties and privileges enjoyed thereunder ("all of which, by judgment of his Court of Exchequer in Ireland, were seized into his hand") ; by a new charter, dated the 24th day of February, 1689, he incorporated the borough very much upon the old model, but with an entirely different cast of characters. He appointed "Garrett Quigley, merchant," to be the first and modern sovereign of the borough, John Quigley (probably a near relative of the sovereign) was also nominated in the charter Town Clerk for life.

The burgesses, now increased to the number of 24, were named as follow:—

"Sir Laurence Esmond, Bart ; Henry Berkeley, Esq. ; John Warren, Esq. ; Pierce Bryan, Esq. ; Major Charles Cavanagh, Insigne Callaghane M^cCallaghan, Francis Eustace, Esq. ; John Baggott, Esq. ; Patrick Walle, Esq. ; Hubert Kelly, Esq. ; Marcus Baggott, Esq. ; Edmond Jones, Esq. ; William Cooke, Esq. ; Oliver Grace, Esq. ; John Dwyer, Esq. ; John Grace, gent. ; Pierce Byrne, gent. ; Edmond Dwyer, apothecary ; John Browne, gent. ; Edmond Carrell, merchant ; Thomas Keegan, merchant ; Henry Webber, merchant ; Thomas Chandlers, nayler, and Samuel Barrett, gent."

The Quigleys were of a Munster stock, hailing from the county of Tipperary. "GARRET QUIGLEY IN LISMALIN 1659" is the inscription on a token, quoted in Dr. A. Smith's Catalogue, communicated to the Royal Irish Academy in 1849. Whether this was the same individual as "GARRETT QUIGLEY OF CARLO MARCH^D." can only be matter of conjecture; but if he emigrated from Lismalin and settled here, he must have done so prior to 1669, as in the applotment for vestry cess for that year, already quoted, we find the name of Garrett Quigley third upon the list. He appears to have resided in Dublin-street; and from the comparative amount of his assessment, we judge him to have occupied one of the best positions in that locality; and, moreover, as the names seem to have been enumerated in that list neither alphabetically nor according to numerical assessment, but, as I imagine, in consecutive order in the different streets, we conclude that Garrett Quigley's house was situated at or in close proximity to that part of Dublin-street now known as the Market Cross.

As the acts of that reformed corporation have not come down to us, we are unable to record any of the public services which Mr. Quigley may have rendered to his gracious Sovereign as chief magistrate of his adopted town; but tradition has it that, "finding the castle of Carlow in ruins since Oliver's time, he took away the oak timber, and with it roofed the houses at the Market Cross of Carlow." Our informant upon this point, Mr. Frederick Haughton, confirms the rumour by the assurance that in his own day he remembers certain of the houses in that locality to have been re-roofed, and in every instance the timber of the old roofs was of fine oak.

On the accession of William III., the old corporation was restored. *Tempora mutantur et nos mutamur in illis*. The times were changed—the tables turned. The spoliator of the castle became the restorer of the church of Carlow. At a vestry held for the parish of Carlow, on Sunday, the 21st of May, 1693, we find it recorded that "it was unanimously agreed upon by the minister, churchwardens, and parishioners, that thirty pounds be forthwith applotted, and levied on the parish at large for the present repayre

of the church, and such other necessarys as shall be requisite ;” and there is appended to the act of vestry the following note:—“ Ten pounds of Mr. Quigley is included in the above summe of thirty pounds.” And at the Easter vestry, in 1694, the receipt of the assessment is accounted for, and it is recorded that “ of the £30 so applotted, £20 has been received of the parish at large, and £10 from Mr. Garrett Quigley,” so that we find “ our respected townsman,” as the journalist of the day no doubt would style him, making retribution for the dilapidation of the castle (whether as a voluntary or an enforced convert to the ruling powers, we are unable to say) by a munificent contribution towards the “ repayre of the church.”

The name and family of Garrett Quigley have long disappeared from Carlow. His little tokens, possibly originally issued during the Commonwealth, are, if so, appropriate memorials of his career. The device of a harp, which they bear upon the obverse, might reasonably be regarded as the Irish portion of the arms of the Protectorate ; while in the reign of Charles II., and more particularly in that of James II., it might be taken as the significant emblem of Hibernian nationality. As already stated, these tokens are common, and specimens are in the hands of Dr. A. Smith, Mr. Frederick Haughton, and the writer. The material is copper, and the average weight 32 grains.

6. OF WALTER KARNEY, of “NEWTOWN BAGNALL,” the issuer of the next token, I have gained no intelligence. “ *William Karney, gent.,*” was one of the 28 burgesses



named in the charter granted by King James II. to Old Leighlin, on the 4th July, 1688. The name is still extant in the neighbourhood. The woodcut has been engraved from a drawing by Dr. Smith from a specimen in the Royal Irish Academy. The token is of copper, and weighs 16 grains.

7. RICHARD BURCHALL of “TULLOWE” concludes the

notice of these county Carlow tokens. My inquiries have failed to discover any particulars of the individuals who struck them.



The token is in the cabinet of Frederick Haughton, Esq., of Levitstown, county Kildare. It is of copper, weighing 33 grains.

I may add that search has been made in vain in the Prerogative Court, Dublin, and the District Registry of the Probate Court at Kilkenny (whither the wills and administrations of the diocese of Leighlin were transferred in 1858), for any testamentary documents calculated to identify the individual strikers of our tokens, or elucidate their history or connexions.

ON TWO OGHAM INSCRIBED STONES FROM THE COUNTY OF CORK.

BY RICHARD R. BRASH, ESQ., M. R. I. A.

THIS remarkable monument was found in a killeen at Leades, on the townland of Deelish, and parish of Agha-bulloge, by Mr. Paul Horgan, of Carrigagully, in the year 1826. The finder was unaware of the nature of the markings on it, but being struck with its peculiar coffin shape, it was preserved from injury until seen by Mr. Windele, who first ascertained it to bear an Ogham inscription. Mr. Horgan had a peculiar taste for oddly-shaped stones, of which he had a remarkable collection. On Mr. Windele's representation he presented it to the Museum of the Royal Cork Institution in 1835. The actual place where the stone was found is known as Killbereherth, and the whole district round it abounds with cromleacs, stone circles, pillar stones, raths, and holy wells.